INR 4084-A001: POLITICS OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

Instructor: Thomas M. Dolan
Class Meetings: MTWR, 12:00-1:50 PM at BA2 0207
Credit: 3 units
Office Hours: 2-3PM, M-W at Philips Hall 302 or by appointment
Instructor E-mail: thomas.dolan@ucf.du

Terrorism—the strategic use of violence by non-state actors, particularly as directed against civilians and civilian institutions to obtain political goals—has increased in scope, frequency, and sophistication over the past twenty years. This course provides a general introduction to all facets of terrorism: its historical development, its strategic logics, contemporary methodologies, political roots, and the problems of counter-terrorism.

Course Goals:

- Students will acquire a thorough understanding of modern terrorism as a political, military, social, and economic phenomenon.
- Students will become familiar with characteristics of major terrorist organizations, including their political ideologies and efforts by opponents to counter them.
- Students will improve oral and written communication skills.

Please note that none of these goals involve the advancement of anyone's political or policy opinions (including those of the instructor). While I encourage political activity and the fulfillment of one's citizenship duties outside of the classroom, a political science course is not a proper forum for the airing of one's personal politics.

Course Design

This course involves a combination of class sessions involving both lecture and discussion, directed readings, papers, exams, and opportunities for informal discussion during office hours. Each part serves a purpose, be it information transmission and retention, promoting rigorous analysis, or encouraging the development of new ideas. Failing to engage with all parts will diminish the return on your efforts. For this reason, pre-class preparation is essential for this course. Students are expected to have read and considered the assigned material prior to the course, and be prepared to discuss it in class. Questions are placed beneath each reading to help focus your attention to what the instructor believes are the most important points. Please remember that that the material of the course is delivered in *both* texts and in-class discussion, which means that the texts contain valuable ideas and information which may not be specifically addressed in class, and discussions and lectures will go beyond the readings. You are responsible for understanding both, so please be sure to raise questions about things you are unsure about.

Assignments:

Course grades will be the product of the following:

Class Preparation and Participation: *10%*

Your active participation in class is necessary if this class is to be a successful learning experience. This means you must come in having read the assignments and join in the class-room discussion of them, making evident that you have read and thought about them. While attendance is not graded as such, excessive truancy can affect this grade, since you are unable to participate when absent.

5 1-page papers: *15%*
Topics will be distributed in class.

Midterm: *25%,* 30 May
In class.

Course Paper: *25%,* Due 13 June
7-8 Pages. Write a paper advancing an argument about a subject related to terrorism. Topic must be approved by instructor.

Final Exam: *25%*, Tuesday 20 June, at normal class time.
Cumulative.

Assignments are to be turned in by class time on the day they are due. They should be in hardcopy unless unforeseen circumstances prevent printing them in or handing them in a timely manner. For every 24 hours that pass thereafter, 5% of credit is lost, to a maximum of 40% lost.
Exams are to be sat at the date and time specified, unless prior approval has been given or a doctor's excuse is submitted at the next attended class meeting. Exams should be sat within 1 week of the general administration of the exam.

Grades
Grades are assigned to both individual pieces of work and cumulatively. The grade scale I use for both is below (note that "g" refers to the numerical grade you receive). I do not usually curve grades, but reserve the right to do so if I deem it necessary. All material is graded on its own terms, rather than through comparison with other students' work. For the cumulative grades, I do not round: what you get is what you get.

100>g≥93: A	90>g≥88: B+	80>g≥78: C+	70>g≥68: D+	60>g: E
	88>g≥83: B	78>g≥73: C	68>g≥63: D	
93>g≥90: A-	83>g≥80: B	73>g≥70: C-	63>g≥60: D	

As reflected in the UCF creed, integrity and scholarship are core values that should guide our conduct and decisions as members of the UCF community. Plagiarism and cheating contradict these values, and so are very serious academic offenses. Penalties can include a failing grade in an assignment or in the course, or suspension or expulsion from the university. Students are expected to familiarize themselves with and follow the University's Rules of Conduct (see http://www.osc.sdes.ucf.edu/).

Plagiarism and Cheating of any kind on an examination, quiz, or assignment will result at least in an "F" for that assignment (and may, depending on the severity of the case, lead to an "F" for the entire course) and may be subject to appropriate referral to the Office of Student Conduct for further action. See the UCF Golden Rule for further information. I will assume for this course that you will adhere to the academic creed of this University and will maintain the highest standards of academic integrity. In other words, don't cheat by giving answers to others or taking them from anyone else. I will also adhere to the highest standards of academic integrity, so please do not ask me to change (or expect me to change) your grade illegitimately or to bend or break rules for one person that will not apply to everyone.

Disabilities Accommodations
The University of Central Florida is committed to providing reasonable accommodations for all persons with disabilities. This syllabus is available in alternate formats upon request. Students with disabilities who need accommodations in this course must contact the professor at the beginning of the semester to discuss needed accommodations. No accommodations will be provided until the student has met with the professor to request accommodations. Students who need accommodations must be registered with Student Disability Services, Ferrell Commons Room 132, phone (407) 823-2371, TTY/TDD only phone (407) 823-2116, before requesting accommodations from the professor.

Changes to the Syllabus:
In the event that there is a need for there to be any changes to the syllabus, an e-mail will be sent to all students' knights-mail accounts (as maintained by the registrar), and will be mentioned in class meetings. Changes become effective immediately after their mention in class, or the sending of the e-mail.

Cancellation of Class: In the event that the instructor needs to cancel class, an e-mail will be sent to all students' knights-mail accounts (as maintained by the registrar) prior to class time.

Readings
The following books should be purchased. They can be found at the UCF bookstore, but are probably cheaper via on-line sources.

Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism.* Columbia University Press
Atwan, *Secret History of Al Qaeda.* University of California Press.

All other course materials are available online, via the webcourses@ucf website.

Course Schedule

13 May
What is terrorism?
Hoffman, Chapter 1
Recommended:
S. Flanigan, "Terrorists Next Door? A Comparison of Mexican Drug Cartels and Middle Eastern Terrorist Organizations," *Terrorism and Political Violence,* 2012

Terrorism as Strategy

14 May
Terrorism as Coercion
Reading from Mao, *On Guerilla Warfare.*
Pape, R. (2003) "The Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review.* 97:3
Recommended
J. Conrad, "Interstate Rivalry and Terrorism," *Journal of Conflict Resolution,* 2011
San Akca, Belgin(2009) 'Supporting Non-State Armed Groups: A Resort to Illegality?', Journal of Strategic Studies, 32: 4

15 May

Terrorism and Domestic Politics

Andrew Kydd and Barbara F. Walter, "The Strategies of Terrorism," *International Security*, Summer 2006.
S. Jones, "The Terrorist Threat from Pakistan," *Survival*, 2011.
Recommended:
Robert Brathwaite, "The Electoral Terrorist: Terror Groups and Electoral Participation," *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 2013.

16 May

Terrorists and their Communities

Paul, Christopher(2010) 'As a Fish Swims in the Sea: Relationships Between Factors Contributing to Support for Terrorist or Insurgent Groups', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 33: 6
Flanigan, Shawn Teresa (2008) 'Nonprofit Service Provision by Insurgent Organizations: The Cases of Hizballah and the Tamil Tigers', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 31: 6
Recommended
M. King et al. "Normative Support for Terrorism: The Attitudes and Beliefs of Immediate Relatives of Jema'ah Islamihah Members," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 2011.

20 May

Politics, Economics, and the Origins of Terrorism

Hoffmann, Chapter 4
J. Kavanagh, "Selection, Availability, and Opportunity: The Conditional Effect of Poverty on Terrorist Group Participation," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2011.
Recommended:
Newman, Edward(2007) 'Weak States, State Failure, and Terrorism', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 19: 4
Atzili, Boaz(2010) 'State Weakness and "Vacuum of Power" in Lebanon', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 33: 8
Howard, Tiffiany(2010) 'Failed States and the Spread of Terrorism in Sub-Saharan Africa', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 33: 11
M Findley and Young, "Terrorism and Credible Commitments," *International Studies Quarterly*, 2011.
Macartan Humpreys and Jeremy Weinstein, "Who Fights? The Determinates of Participation in Civil War," *American Political Science Review*, 2008: 52-2
Krueger, Alan B, and Jitka Maleckov, "Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 2003 17: 4
Olivier Roy, *Globalized Islam*.
Gilles Kepel*, On the Trail of Political Islam*.
David Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions*, American Political Science Review*, 1984, 78:3.

21 May

Recruitment

S. Cottee and Hayward, "Terrorist (E)motives: The Existential Attractions of Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 2011
Angela Dalton and Victor Asal, "Is it Ideology or Desperation? Why do Organizations Deploy Women in Violent Terrorist Attacks?" *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 2011

Recommended:
S. Cottee, "Jihadism as a Subcultural Response to Social Strain: Extending Marc Sageman's 'Bunch of Guys' Thesis," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2011.
Dearing, Matthew P.(2010) 'Like Red Tulips at Springtime: Understanding the Absence of Female Martyrs in Afghanistan', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 33: 12
Rex A. Hudson The Sociology And Psychology Of Terrorism: Who Becomes A Terrorist And Why? http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/pdf-files/Soc_Psych_of_Terrorism.pdf
Stack-O'Connor, Alisa(2007) 'Lions, Tigers, and Freedom Birds: How and Why the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam Employs Women', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 19: 1
Fangen, Katrine(1997) 'Separate or equal? The emergence of an all-female group in Norway's rightist underground', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 9: 3

22 May
Terrorist Organizations, 1
Martha Crenshaw, "Theories of Terrorism: Instrumental and Organizational Approaches," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 1987.
Rohan Gunaratna and Aviv Oreg, "Al Queda's Organizational Structure and its Evolution," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 2010, 33:12.
Recommended:
S. Helfstein, "Covert or Convenient? The Evolution of Terror Attack Networks," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2011.
V. Eccarius, "Surreptitious Lifelines: A Structural Analysis of the FARC and the PKK," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2012.
John Arquilla, Networks and Netwars : The Future of Terror, Crime, and Militancy, http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1382/
Mark Turner, "The Management of Violence in a Conflict Organization: The Case of the Abu Sayyef," *Public Organization Review* (December 2003), 387-401.
Lidsay Heger, Danielle Jung, and Wendy Wong, "Organizing for Resistance: How Group Structure Impacts the Character of Violence," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2012.

23 May
Terrorist Organizations, 2
P. Neumann et al., "Locating Al Queada's Center of Gravity: The Role of Middle Managers," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 2011.
Recommended
Adria Lawrence, "Triggering Nationalist Violence: Competition and Conflict in Uprisings against Colonial Rule," *International Security,* 2010, 35:2.
Post, Jerrold M.(1987) 'Rewarding Fire with Fire: Effects of Retaliation on Terrorist Group Dynamics', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 10: 1

27 May: Memorial Day: University Holiday

28 May
Tactics, Techniques, and Practices
Hoffman, Chapters 5, 8
Alec Barker, "Improvised Explosive Devices," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 2011
Recommended
S Burki, "Haram or Halal?' Islamists Use of Suicide Attacks as Jihad," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2011.

M. Soriano, "The Vulnerabilities of Online Terrorismm," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 2012
Michael Horowitz, "Non-State Actors and the Diffusion of Innovations: The Case of Suicide Terrorism" *International Organization*, 64:1 (Winter 2010), pp. 33-64.
Robert Brym and Bader Araj, Suicide Bombing as Strategy and Interaction, *Social Forces*, 2006, 84:4.
Mia Bloom, "Palestinian Suicide Bombing: Public Support, Market Share, and Outbidding," *Political Science Quarterly*, 2004, 119: 1.
Atwan, *SHAQ*, Chapter 4
9-11 Commission Report

29 May
WMD's
Pluta, Anna M. and Zimmerman, Peter D.(2006) 'Nuclear terrorism: A disheartening dissent', *Survival*,48: 2, 55 — 69
Acton, James M. , Rogers, M. Brooke and Zimmerman, Peter D.(2007) 'Beyond the Dirty Bomb: RethinkingRadiological Terror', *Survival*, 49: 3
Recommended:
G. Koblenz, "Predicting Peril or Peril of Prediction," Assessing the Risk of CBRN Terrorism," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2011.
John Mueller, "The Atomic Terrorist"
Robin Frost, "Nuclear Terrorism after 9/11," *Adelphi Papers* 2005, 45:378.

30 May
Midterm Exam

3 June
Financing Terror
Michael Freeman, "The Sources of Terrorist Financing: Theory and Typology," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 2012.
Recommended
James Piazza, "The Illicit Drug Trade, Counternarcotics Strategies, and Terrorism," *Public Choice*, 2011.
James Piazza, "The Opium Trade and Patterns of Terrorism in Afghanistan," *Terrorism and Political Violence.*
Joshua Prober. 2005. "Accounting for Terror: Debunking the Paradigm of Inexpensive Terrorism." Washington Institute for Near East Policy. PolicyWatch #1041.
Zachary Abuza. 2003. "Funding Terrorism in Southeast Asia: The Financial Network of Al Qaeda and Jemaah Islamiyah." National Bureau of Asian Research 14(5).
John Horgan and Max Taylor. 1999. "Playing the Green Card: Financing the Provisional IRA Part 1." *Terrorism and Political Violence*,11(1): 1-38.
John Horgan and Max Taylor. 2003. Playing the Green Card: Financing the Provisional IRA - Part 2. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 15 (2): 1-60.
Andrew Silke. 1998. "In Defense of the Realm: Financing Loyalist Terrorism in Northern Ireland – Part One: Extortion and Blackmail." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 21:331-361.
Andrew Silke. 2000. "Drink, Drugs, and Rock'n'Roll: Financing Loyalist Terrorism in Northern Ireland – Part Two." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 23:107-127.

A History of Terrorism

4 June
Western Terrorism through the Cold War
Hoffman, Chapter 2
Sànchez-Cuenca, Ignacio(2007) 'The Dynamics Of Nationalist Terrorism: ETA and the IRA', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 19: 3
Recommended:
Dennis A. Pluchinsky, "Germany's red army faction: An obituary," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, (1993) 16:2.
Xavier Raufer, "The red brigades: Farewell to arms," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 1993, 16:4.
Robin Erica Wagner-Pacifici, *The Moro Morality Play*. University of Chicago Press, 1986.
Sundberg, Jacob(1981) 'Operation Leo: Description and analysis of a European terrorist operation', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 5: 3
Charters, David A.(1997) 'The amateur revolutionaries: A reassessment of the FLQ', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 9: 1
White, Robert W.(1997) 'The Irish republican army: An assessment of sectarianism', Terrorism and Political Violence, 9: 1

5 June
Nationalist Terrorism Beyond Europe
Read 1 from Group A and 1 from Group B
Group A
Criss, Nur Bilge(1995) 'The nature of PKK terrorism in Turkey', Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 18: 1
Joshi, Manoj(1996) 'On the Razor's edge: The liberation tigers of Tamil Eelam', Studies in Conflict &Terrorism, 19: 1
Group B
Wiegand, Krista E.(2009) 'Reformation of a Terrorist Group: Hezbollah as a Lebanese Political Party',*Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 32: 8
Selection from J. Gunning, *Hamas in Politics*, Columbia University Press, 2008.

6 June
Al Qaeda: The Beginnings
Atwan, *SHAQ*. Introduction, Ch. 1, 2, 3.
Recommended:
Bruce Hoffman, *IT*, Chapter 3.
9-11 Commission Report

10 June
Al Qaeda and its Allies in the 21st Century
Atwan, *SHAQ,* Chapter 6.
C. Fair, "Lashar-e-Tayiba and the Pakistani State," *Survival*, 2011
Recommended
Atwan, *SHAQ* , Ch. 5
Ahmed al-Hashim, *Insurgency and Counter-Insrugency in Iraq*, Cornell University Press, 2005.
A. Stenersen, "Al Qaeda's Foot Soldiers: A Study of the Biographies of Foreign Fighters Killed in Afghanistan and Pakistan Between 2002 and 2006," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 2011.

11 June
Al Qaeda in its Own Words
A Collection of 17 Letters found in bin Laden's residence
http://s3.amazonaws.com/CTCReports/English.zip
Recommended
Lahoud et al., "Letters from Abbottabad," http://www.ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/CTC_LtrsFromAbottabad_WEB_v2.pdf

Responding to Terror

12 June
The Public and Terrorism
Hoffman, 6 & 7
Recommended:
T. Dannenbaum, "Bombs, Ballots, and Coercion: The Madrid Bombings, Electoral Politics, and Terrorist Strategy," *Security Studies* 2011
Leonie Huddy, Stanley Feldman, Charles Taber, and Gallya Lahav, "Threat, Anxiety, and Support of Antiterrorism Policies," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (Jul., 2005)
Jennifer Lerner, Roxana Gonzales, Deborah Small, and Baruch Fishoff, "Effects of Fear and Anger on Perceived Risks of Terrorism,: *Psychological Science*, (2003) 14:2.
Bob Woodward, *Bush at War*

13 June ****Term Paper Due*****
Counterterrorism
Gregory Miller, "Confronting Terrorisms: Group Motivation and Successful State Policies," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2007, 19:3.
Recommended:
Bryan Price, "Targeting Top Terrorists: How Leadership Decapitation Contributes to Counterterrorism," *International Security*, 2012.
Erik Dahl, "The Plots that Failed: Intelligence Lessons Learned from Unsuccessful Terrorist Attacks Against the US," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 2011.
R. Brooks, "Muslim Homegrown Terrorism in the US: How Serious is the Threat?" *International Security* 2011.
Raphael Perl, *Combating Terrorism: The Challenge of Measuring Effectiveness*. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service (March 2007)
Barry Posen, "The Struggle Against Terrorism," *International Security* (Winter 2001/2), 39-55.
Robert Trager and Dessislava Zagorcheva, "Deterring Terrorism," *International Security*, (2005) 30:3.
A. Kydd, "Terrorism and Profiling," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2011. Walter Enders and Todd Sandler, *Political Economy of Terrorism*, Cambridge University Press, 2006, "Homeland Security."
GAO/NSIAD-00-85, "How Five Foreign Countries Are Organized to Combat Terrorism" (April 2000).
Matt Buehler, "Safety-Valve Elections and the Arab Spring: The Weakening (and Resurgence) of Morocco's Islamist Opposition Party," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2013

17 June
Ending Terrorism
Audrey Kurth Cronin, "How al-Qaida Ends," *International Security*, (2006) 31:1.
Richards, A.(2001) 'Terrorist Groups and Political Fronts: The IRA, Sinn Fein, the Peace Process and Democracy', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 13: 4
Recommended
Neumann, Peter R.(2005) 'The bullet and the ballot box: The case of the IRA ', *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 28: 6
R. Alonso, "Why Do Terrorists Stop?" Analyzing Why ETA Members Abandon or Continue with Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 2011.

18 June
After the Ending: Demobilization
Silke, Andrew(1999) 'Rebel's dilemma: The changing relationship between the IRA, Sinn Féin and paramilitary vigilantism in Northern Ireland', Terrorism and Political Violence, 11: 1
Recommended:
Horgan, John and Braddock, Kurt(2010) 'Rehabilitating the Terrorists?: Challenges in Assessing the Effectiveness of De-radicalization Programs', Terrorism and Political Violence, 22: 2
Humphries and Weinstein, Demobilization and Reintegration, *JCR* 2007
B. Spalek and L. Davies, "Mentoring In Relation to Violent Extremism: A Study of Role, Purpose, and Outcomes," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 2012.

19 June
Ethics in Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism
Goertzel, Ted(1988) 'The ethics of terrorism and revolution', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 11: 1
A. Etzioni, "Terrorists: A Distinct Species," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2011.
Recommended
Neta Crawford, "Just War Theory and the US Counterterrorism War," *Perspectives on Politics*, 2003, 1:1.
Dickson, Brice(2009) 'Counter-Insurgency and Human Rights in Northern Ireland', *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 32: 3
Franz Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism*, 1965.
Hamdan v. Rumsfeld, 548 U.S. 557 (2006)
Hamdi v. Rumsfeld, 542 U.S. 507 (2004)

20 June
Final Exam